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Directorate of Intelligence

Africa Review

14 January 1994

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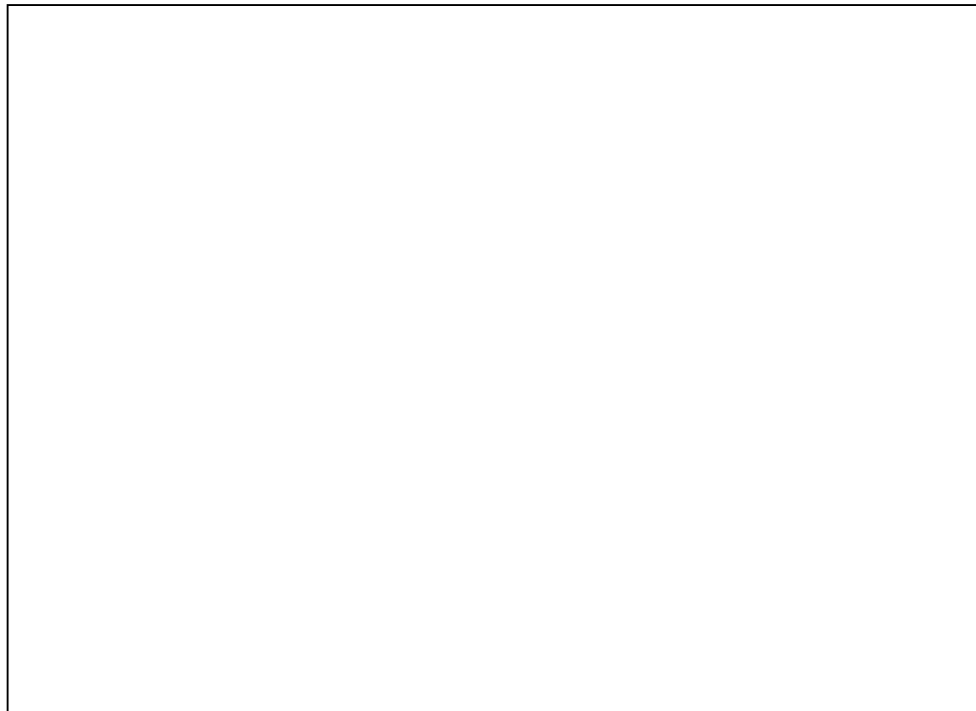
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Africa Review ☐

14 January 1994



Rwanda: Delays in Forming a Transitional Government ☐

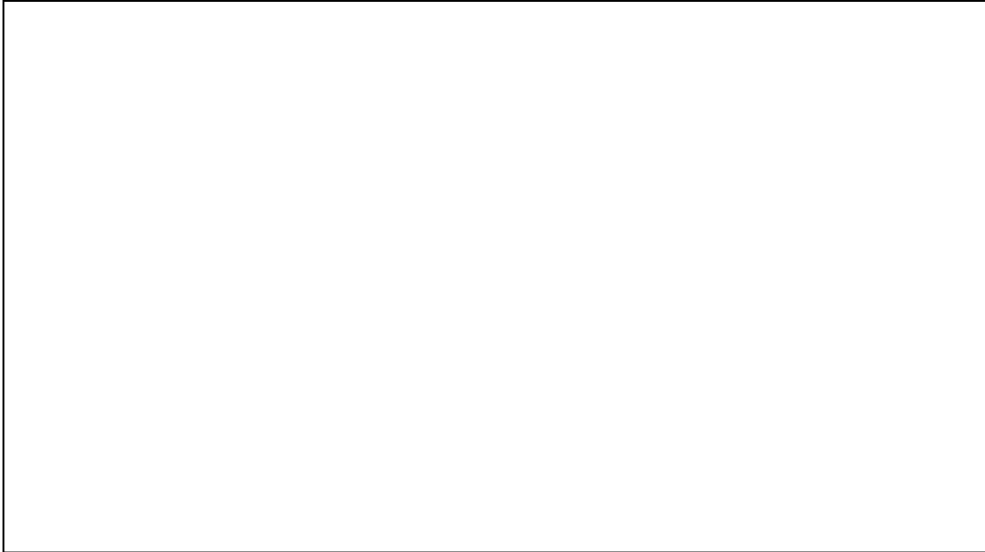
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Rwanda's old Hutu-majority government, opposition parties, and the Tutsi rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front continue to stumble over the formation of a new broad-based transitional government scheduled to have been in place last September. ☐

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Chronology

Sub-Saharan Africa: Democratization Chronology

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Rwanda: Delays in Forming a Transitional Government ☐

Rwanda's old Hutu-majority government, opposition parties, and the Tutsi rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) continue to stumble over the formation of a new broad-based transitional government scheduled to have been in place last September. Ruling party delays, opposition infighting, growing rebel impatience, and the ethnic bloodbath in neighboring Burundi underscore the difficulties both Hutus and Tutsis have in proceeding with multiethnic powersharing. The peace accord signed in August commits the two sides to a 22-month program of demobilization, refugee repatriation, and democratic elections in 1995—once a transitional government is in place. The UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), intended as a confidence-building force, began troop deployments in December and escorted Tutsi rebel leaders into Kigali along with 600 RPF bodyguards, in anticipation of the establishment of a multiethnic government. ☐

Habyarimana Still Manipulating Peace Accords

Old-guard President Habyarimana continues to resist measures detailed in the August 1993 peace accords that will eventually strip him of his executive powers. Although the latest deadline called for installing a transitional government by the new year, Habyarimana has turned to delaying tactics that has raised the hackles of both opposition parties and Tutsi rebels that he hopes to divide. He accepted being sworn in as transitional president on 5 January, five days later than agreed upon by all parties, but refused to swear in a multiparty transitional government cabinet and national assembly—on grounds that two of six opposition parties that are to participate are so internally divided that they cannot agree on naming their representatives. After pressing Habyarimana to install the remaining transitional institutions by 8 January, the RPF backed down and agreed to allow the UN, donor community, and African neighbors to hold consultations with all sides to try to resolve the impasse. ☐

Habyarimana has used security incidents and the October Tutsi-led coup attempt in Burundi and subsequent ethnic violence there to claim that the RPF is not committed to the peace accord. As UN troops

were about to deploy to Kigali, Habyarimana's party maintained that two incidents in November in the rebel-controlled north were really RPF attacks on government military installations. He has also blamed the RPF for complicity in the death of the Hutu president in Burundi and in the humanitarian crisis that has led to more than 345,000 Burundian refugees in Rwanda. In early January, ☐ that Hutu-youth movement demonstrators gathered in the capital near RPF headquarters to protest the power-sharing agreement with the Tutsi. ☐

Ethnic Division Within the Opposition

The country's two main opposition parties are in disarray, and, although smaller opposition parties have remained on the sidelines throughout the conflict, they too probably suffer from ethnic polarization. The largest opposition group, the Republican Democratic Movement (MDR), is supposed to hold the Prime Minister position and five ministerial seats in the new government. The MDR, however, is divided between supporters of Prime Minister-designate Twagimungu—who was officially expelled from the party for his moderate politics—and opposing hardliner elements, who have Habyarimana's support. Meanwhile, the Hutu leaders of the Liberal Party (PL), are under fire from the party's Tutsis. The dispute has delayed the PL's designation of its cabinet ministers and national assembly delegates. ☐ the PL may have co-opted hardline Hutu members of the Coalition for Defense of the Republic (CDR)—a Hutu extremist group responsible for igniting ethnic clashes last February—in an effort to ensure Hutu domination in the transitional government. ☐

RPF in Transition

We believe the RPF remains committed to the peace process, but probably will not rule out fighting if delays in installing all transitional institutions are not overcome. The former rebels are likely to have difficulties adjusting as a political party and may suffer from infighting as they attempt to work within a political environment of diverse views. Since arriving in Kigali in December, the RPF has worked to establish itself as a political party. It has named its five

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ministers and 11 parliamentary deputies to the transitional government. Although the RPF says it remains committed to the August accords, it has voiced serious concern over Habyarimana's manipulation of the peace process. Nonetheless, the RPF is also seeking ethnic alliances to gain a greater say in the transitional government. The former rebels probably hope to take advantage of divisions in the PL and the MDR to co-opt opposition members and undermine the ruling party's influence over the transitional national assembly []

UN Trying To Break the Transition Deadlock

The United Nations has taken the lead in criticizing Habyarimana's delaying tactics and intransigence by hardliners on both sides while urging all parties to compromise. The UN may have difficulty ensuring security in the capital, however, if the process remains deadlocked and ethnic hardliners become more vocal. The UN's timely investigation of past security incidents has almost certainly demonstrated the international community's commitment to overseeing the success of the peace accord. Since the UN deployed to the buffer zone between the government and the rebels in the north, there have been no further security incidents. []

Outlook

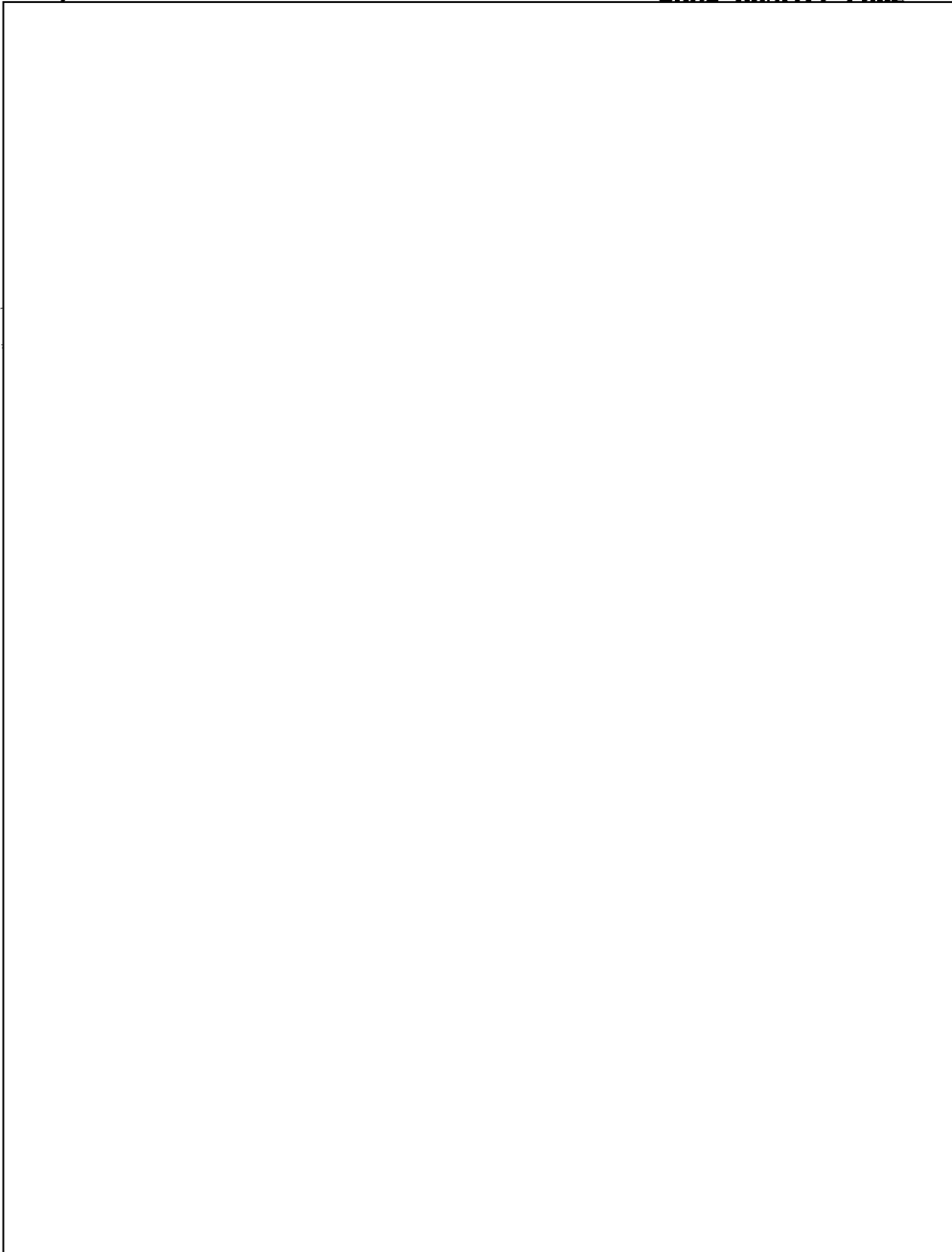
In the end, international pressure probably will result in the installation of a multiethnic government, but mutual distrust and ethnic tensions will remain. The UN will have limited leverage, however, in preventing Habyarimana from reopening such issues as military demobilization and integration, or refusing to give up Hutu dominance of local governments. Moreover, with 600 RPF troops in Kigali, the risk remains high of an ethnic clash triggered by hardliners or a major confrontation between parties in the new government. []
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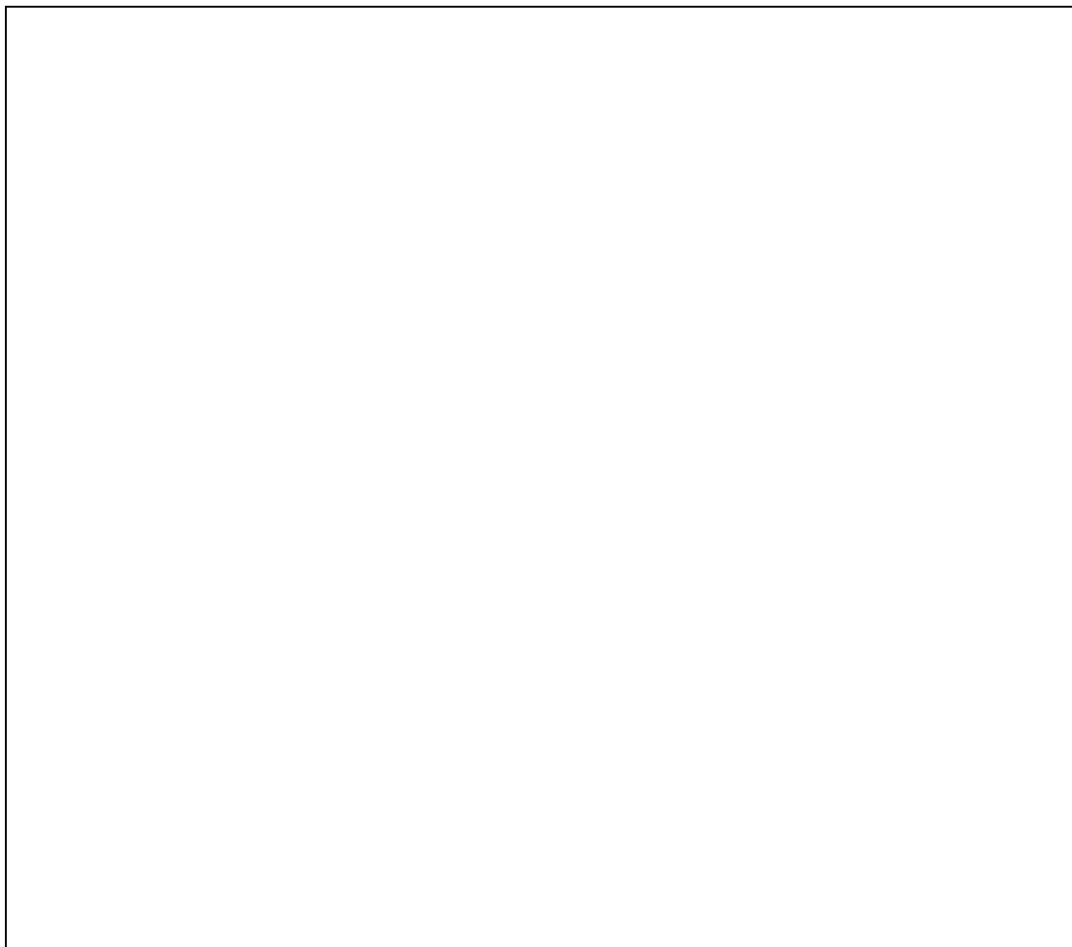
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**Sub-Saharan Africa:
Democratization Chronology**

15 December 1993 Through 11 January 1994



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20 December

The mandate of the *UN* Observer Mission on the *Rwanda/Uganda* Border (UNOMUR) is renewed for six months by the Security Council. Its mission is to ensure that no arms or material support reach Rwanda's Tutsi rebels from fellow tribesmen on the Ugandan side of the border under the accord that calls for the formation of a transitional government and multiparty elections. ☐

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5 January

Rwanda's incumbent President Habyarimana is officially sworn in as interim head of state for a 22-month transition period that is supposed to culminate in multiparty elections. Political bickering, however, indefinitely postpones the swearing in of a broad-based transitional cabinet and national assembly as called for by the August 1993 settlement agreement that ended 34 months of fighting between the ethnic Hutu-majority based regime and opposing Tutsi rebels. Any prolonged impasse risks a breakdown of the country's cease-fire. All transitional institutions were supposed to have been installed last September. ☐

6 January

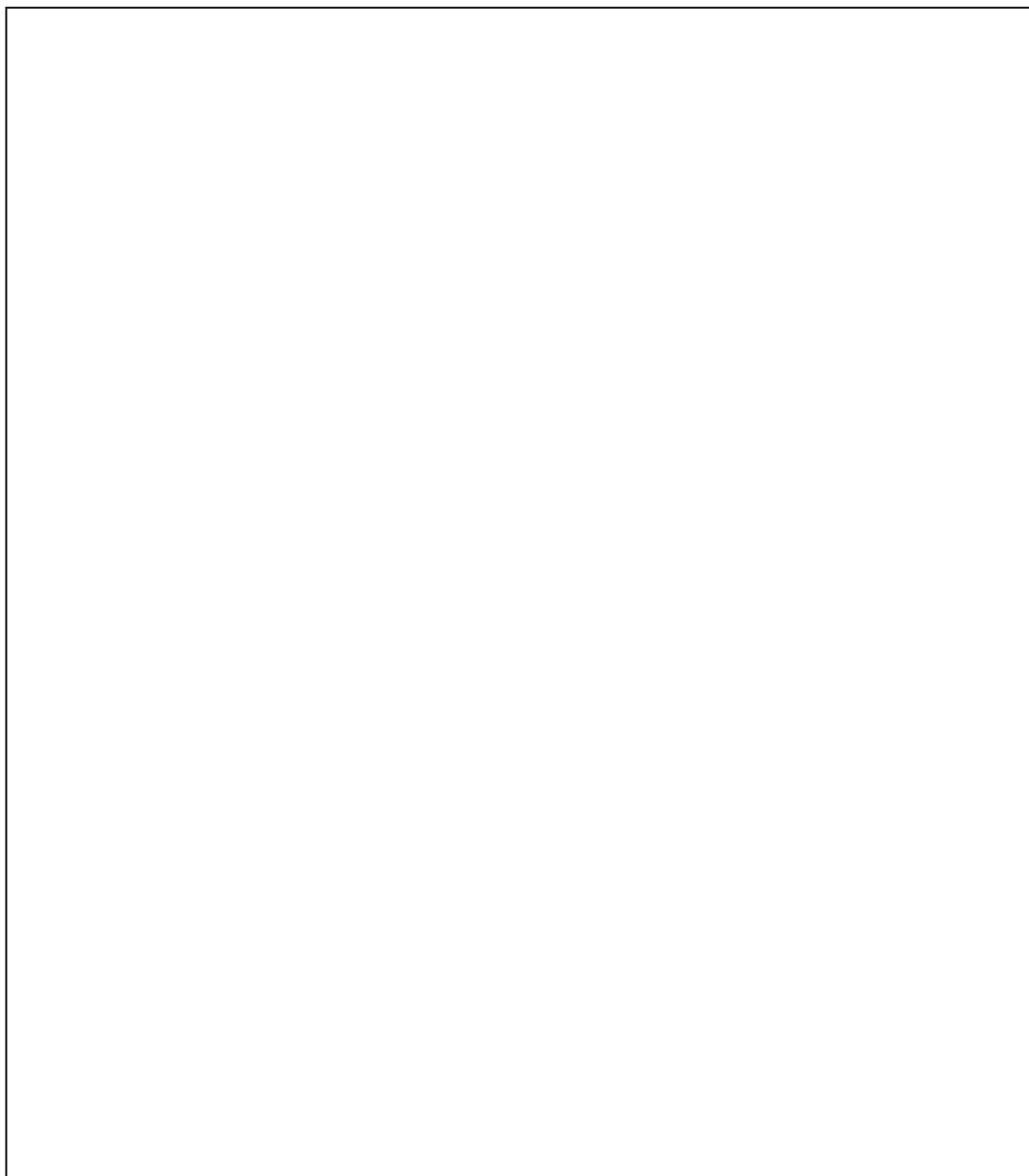
The *UN* Security Council renews the *UN* Assistance Mission in *Rwanda* (UNAMIR) for another six months and approves the one additional battalion of peacekeepers for the country to promote further progress toward reconciliation and a democratic transition in *Rwanda*. ☐

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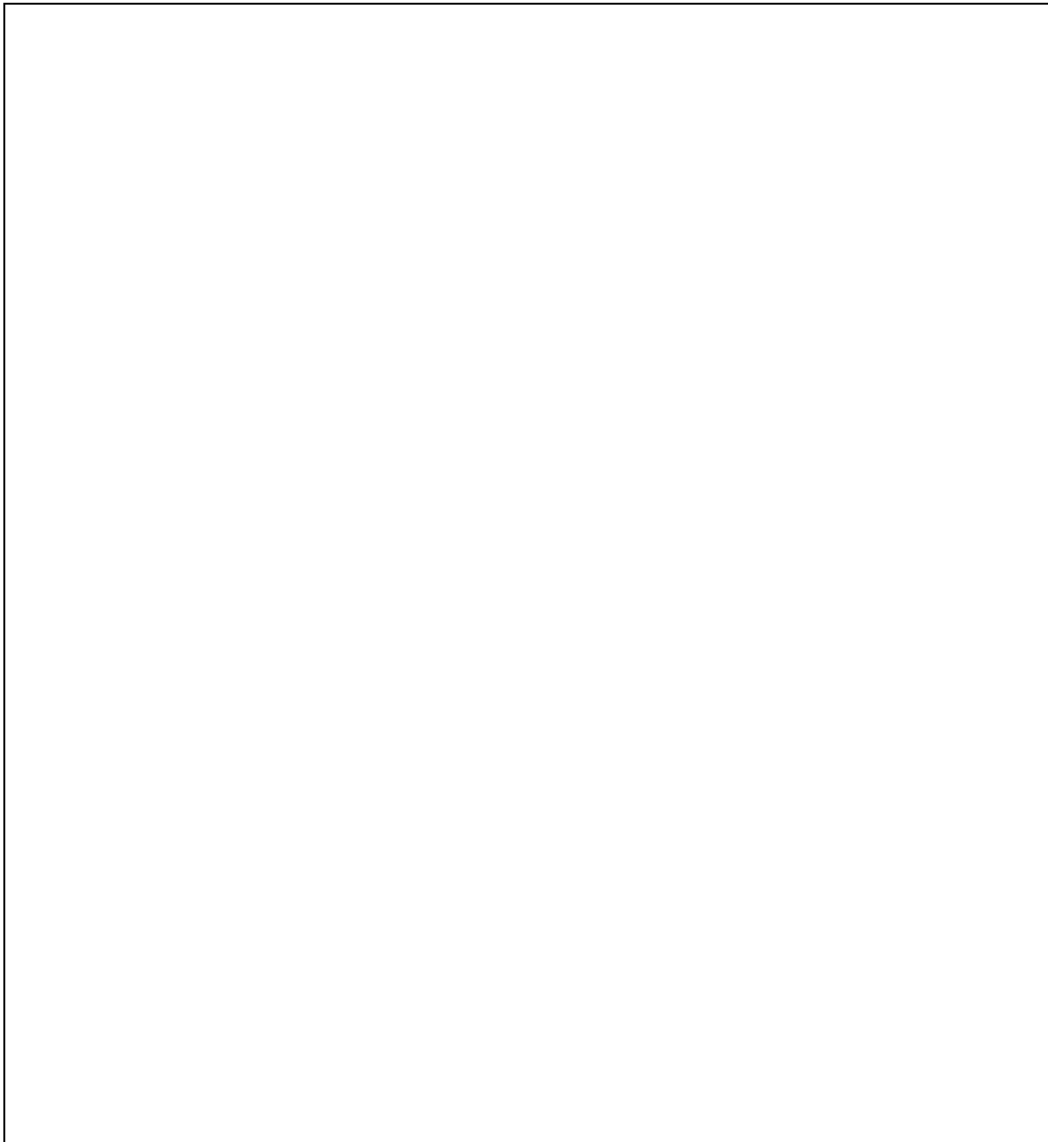
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